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MISCEGENATION OR AMALGAMATION.

FATE OF THE FREEDMAN.

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. COX,

OF OHIO,

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 17, 1864.

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THE FATE OF THE FREEDMAN.

MISCEGENATION, OR AMALGAMATION.

The House having under consideration the bill to establish a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs—

Mr. COX said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not rise for the purpose of discussing this measure—only to have it referred for discussion. The discussion of its details will be ably conducted by the minority of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KALBFLEISCH] and the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. KNAPP.] I shall only call attention to its general features. The member who introduced it [Mr. ELIOT] commended it to this side for its humanity. He recalled to our minds the fact that we opposed the confiscation bill for its inhumanity. He hoped that humane considerations would prevail as to this bill. I wish that he had set a better example, by his voice and vote upon the other measure. This bill is founded in part on the confiscation system. If that were inhuman, then this is its aggravation. The former takes the lands which are abandoned by loyal or disloyal whites, under the pressure of war; while the present bill turns these abandoned lands over to the blacks. But motives of humanity, however pure, are not the motives that should prompt legislation altogether.

I only refer to the confiscation part of the measure to show how comprehensive and all-reaching is this scheme. The industrious gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ELIOT] states that he is the author of the confiscation bill, of which this bill is the sequel.

Mr. ELIOT. I did not say that I was the author of the confiscation bill. I said that I reported it from the select committee that had that matter in charge.

Mr. COX. I misapprehended the tenor of the gentleman's remarks. I have no doubt that he had a good deal to do with getting it up. The gentleman's modesty will not permit him to claim the credit of it. I rather think that all of these measures spring from the fertile brain of the Solicitor of the Treasury, (Mr. Whiting.) He is the reservoir of all the Republican heresy and legislation proposed in this House; though he is often confounded, I think, with Divine Providence, to whom gentlemen are erroneously in the habit of attributing these abolition measures.

But to return to the member from Massachusetts. The effect of former legislation has been, in his opinion, to bring under the control of the Government large multitudes of freedmen who "had ceased to be slaves, but had not learned how to be free." To care for these multitudes he presents this bill, which, if not crude and undigested, yet is sweeping and revolutionary. It begins a policy for our Federal Government of limited and express powers, so latitudinarian that the whole system of our Government is changed. If the acts of confiscation and the proclamations, on which this measure is founded, be usurpations, how can we who have denounced them favor a measure like this?

According to Mr. Whiting this system, to be complete, must include in its provisions all the abandoned lands, all lands forfeited for taxes, all confiscated lands, all derelict personalty, all colored men free before the war in rebellious districts, and all fugitives thereto from loyal States, all legal proceedings of confiscation, all migrations of blacks to and from rebel States, all laws compensating masters for slaves, and all other matters relating to the colored people, whether bond or free.

This is a new system introduced into our Government. It opens a vast opportunity for greed, tyranny, corruption and abuse. It may be inaugurated in the name of humanity; but I doubt, sir, if any Government, much less our Federal Government of limited and delegated powers, will ever succeed in the philanthropic line of business, such as is contemplated by this bill.

The gentleman from Massachusetts appeals to us to forget the past—not to inquire how these poor people have become free, whether by law or by usurpation—but to look the great fact in the face "that three millions slaves have become and are becoming free."

Before I come to that great fact let me first look to the Constitution. My oath to that is the highest humanity. By preserving the Constitution amidst the rack of war, in any vital part, we are saving for a better time something of those liberties, State and personal, which have given so much happiness for over seventy years to so many millions; and which, under a favorable Administration, might again restore contentment to our afflicted people. Hence the highest humanity is in building strong the ramparts of constitutional restraint against such radical usurpations as is proposed to be inaugurated by measures kindred to this before the House.

If the gentleman can show us warrant in the Constitution to establish this eleemosynary system for the blacks, and for making the Government of the United States a grand plantation speculator and overseer, and the Treasury a fund for the helpless negro, I will then consider the charitable light in which he has commended his bill to our sympathies. It does not follow that because (as General Butler once said) there were as many poor in proportion to the people in the poorhouses of Massachusetts who were killed outright by bad treatment as were killed at the battle of Solferino in proportion to those engaged, that we are to interfere by Federal legislation for the victims of Massachusetts inhumanity.

I would love to do something for the poor blacks who have been thrown houseless, clotheless, foodless, medicineless, and friendless on the cold world by the improvident and barbarous philanthropy now in vogue; but when my constituents ask me for my warrant thus to tax them, I wish to be able to point it out. If you can so frame your bill as to draw no money from the Treasury, and make your scheme self-supporting; or if you can so perfect the system as to connect it legally with the military without degrading the Army, and still discipline and care for the unfortunate blacks, male and female, old and young, strong and weak, then we may consider its propriety and legality with a view to aid its passage.

We cannot and do not desire to ignore the fact that incalculable misery has been and will be the fate of the freed negroes; but it is another and a difficult problem to reconcile the aid they require from the benevolent with our oaths and well-matured judgments as to the province of the Federal Government over matters like this. The gentleman refers us for the constitutionality of this measure to the war power, the same power by which he justifies the emancipation proclamation and similar measures. We upon this side are thoroughly convinced of the utter sophistry of such reasoning. If the proclamation be unconstitutional, how can this or any measure based on it be valid? The gentleman says, "If the President had the power to free the slave, does it not imply the power to take care of him when freed?" Yes, no doubt. If he had any power under the war power he has all power. He is so utterly irresponsible that even Congress cannot share his monarchical despotism. Under the war power he is a tyrant without a clinch on his revolutions. He can spin in any orbit he likes, as far and as long as he pleases.

He refers us also to that clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress "to declare war and make rules concerning captures on land." This latter argument squares with the theory of this war announced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STEVENS,] for the authority of Congress to declare war is of course only meant as against foreign nations, and Congress can make all rules concerning captures in *such a war*. But unless the gentlemen on the other side are ready to acknowledge the independence of the South, and recognize them as a separate nation of belligerents, then his argument proves nothing in behalf of this bill, except that he is a theoretical secessionist. The constitutional argument in favor of this bill is one that this side of this House cannot recognize, unless we are prepared to unsay and undo all that we have said and done to protect the Constitution since the abolition measures began to take the form of law.

"But," it is urged, "something must be done for the poor blacks. They are perishing by thousands. We must look the great fact of anti-slavery and its millions of enfranchised victims in the face and legislate for their relief." Such is the appeal to our kindlier natures. Something *should* be done. The humanity which so long pitied the plumage should not forget the dying bird. But what can be done without violating the Constitution of the United States, or without intrenching upon a domain never granted by the States or the people in their written charter of powers? What can be done? Oh! ye honey-tongued humanitarians of New England, with your coffers filled from the rough hand of western toil, the beaded sweat of whose industry by the subtle alchemy of your inventive genius is transmuted into the jewels of your parvenu and shoddy splendor, with your dividends rising higher and higher like waves under this storm of war; I would beseech you to go into the camps of the contrabands, as the gentleman described them, who are starving and pining for their old homes, and lift them out of the mire into which your improvident and premature schemes have dragged them, pour the oil of healing into their wounds, and save a few of them at least from the doom of extirpation. Here is a fitting and legal opportunity for the exercise of a gracious humanity. I rejoice to know that many good men, even from New England, have embraced it.

But the gentleman urges this legislation, because if it be not passed, the President's proclamation will be made "a living lie." He thinks that "neither the considerate judgment of mankind nor the gracious favor of God can be invoked upon the President's act of freedom, unless the law shall protect the freedom which the sword has declared." Not merely has the President's proclamation been made a *living lie*, but the thousands of corpses daily hurried out of the contraband hovels and tents along the Mississippi prove it to have been a *deadly lie*. Neither the judgment of man nor the favor of God can be invoked without mockery upon a fanatical project so fraught with misery to the weak and wholesale slaughter to its deluded victims!

But we are warned to look the great fact in the face that millions unfit for freedom are yet to become free. I know, Mr. Speaker, that we cannot change the fact by closing our

eyes. It is true. The revolution rolls on. No effort on the part of the Democracy to achieve a peace through conciliation will now be listened to. The spirit of those in power is the spirit of extermination. The war with its revolutions goes on, and slavery as a political if not as a social institution may fall under its crushing car. It may be that all of the four million slaves will be thrown, like the one hundred thousand already freed, upon the frigid charities of the world. But, sir, if slavery be doomed, so, alas! is the slave. No scheme like this bill can save him. The Indian reserves, treaties, bounties, and agencies did not and does not save the red man. No Government farming system, no charitable black scheme, can wash out the color of the negro, change his inferior nature, or save him from his inevitable fate. The irrepressible conflict is not between slavery and freedom, but between black and white; and, as De Tocqueville prophesied, the black will perish.

Do gentlemen on the other side rely upon the new system, called by the transcendental abolitionists "*Miscegenation*," to save the black? This is but another name for amalgamation; but it will not save the negro. True, Wendell Phillips says it is "God's own method of crushing out the hatred of race, and of civilizing and elevating the world," and Theodore Tilton, the editor of the *Independent*, (a paper publishing the laws of the United States by authority,) holds that hereafter the "negro will lose his typical blackness and be found clad in white men's skins." But, sir, no system so repugnant to the nature of our race—and to organize which doubtless the next Congress of Progressives, and perhaps the gentleman from Massachusetts, will practically provide—can save the negro.

Mr. ELIOT. I have no doubt that my friend understands all about it.

Mr. COX. I understand all about it, for I have the doctrines laid down in circulars, pamphlets, and books published by your anti-slavery people. But it was not my intention to discuss it now and upon this bill.

Mr. PRICE. If all the blacks are crushed out, how is amalgamation to ruin the country?

Mr. COX. They will all run, according to the new gospel of abolition, into the white people, on that side of the House. [Laughter.]

Mr. ELIOT. Is that what the gentleman is afraid of?

Mr. COX. No, sir, for I do not believe that the doctrine of miscegenation, or the amalgamation of the white and black, now strenuously urged by the abolition leaders, will save the negro. It will destroy him utterly. The physiologist will tell the gentleman that the mulatto does not live; he does not recreate his kind; he is a monster.

Such hybrid races by a law of Providence, scarcely survive beyond one generation. I promise the gentleman at some future and appropriate time, when better prepared to develope that idea of miscegenation as now heralded by the abolitionists, who are in the van of the Republican movement—

Mr. ELIOT. I hope that the gentleman will go into it.

Mr. COX. If such be the desire of the gentleman I will attempt it, though reluctantly; for my materials, like the doctrine, are a little "mixed."

Mr. GRINNELL rose.

Mr. COX. I cannot yield to the gentleman. I want none of his impertinences in my speech. The other day when I was speaking he interrupted me with them without my consent. I do not recognize him as the member to whom I owe the courtesy of my attention.

But since I am challenged to exhibit this doctrine of the abolitionists—called after some Greek words—miscegenation—*to mingle and generate*—I call your attention first to a circular I hold in my hand. It was circulated at the Cooper Institute the other night, when a female who, in the presence of the President, Vice President, and you, Mr. Speaker, and your associates in this Hall, made the same saucy speech for abolition which she addressed to the people of New York. It begins with the following significant quotation from Shakspeare:

> "The elements
> So *mixed* in him that Nature might stand up,
> And say to the world, "This was a man!"
> [Laughter.]
>
> "Miscegenation. the Theory of the Blending of the Races, applied to the American White Man and Negro. Among the subjects treated of are—
>
> "1. The Mixture of Caucasian and African Blood Essential to American Progress." [Laughter.]
>
> "2. How the American may become Comely. [Laughter.]
>
> "3. The Type Man a Miscegen—The Sphynx Riddle Solved.
>
> "4. The Irish and Negro first to Commingle." [Laughter.]
>
> "5. Heart Histories of the Daughters of the South.
>
> "6. Miscegenetic Ideal of Beauty in Woman.
>
> "7. The Future—No White—No Black."

If gentlemen doubt the authenticity of this new movement let them go to the office of publication, 113 Nassau street, New York, and purchase. The movement is an advance upon the doctrine of the gentlemen opposite, but they will soon work up to it. The more philosophical and apostolic of the abolition fraternity have fully decided upon the adoption of this amalgamation platform. I am informed that the doctrines are already indorsed by such lights as Parker Pillsbury, Lucretia Mott, Albert Brisbane, William Wells Brown, Dr. McCune Smith, (half and half—*miscegen,*) Angelina Grimke, Theodore D. Weld and wife, and others.

But these are inferior lights compared with others I shall quote. When I name Theodore Tilton, an editor of the Government paper in Brooklyn called the *Independent;* when I recall the fact that the polished apostle of abolition, Wendell Phillips, whose golden-lipped eloquence can make miscegenation as attractive to the ear as it is to the other senses; when I quote from the New York *Tribune*, the

centre and circumference of the abolition movement, and Mrs Stowe, whose writings have almost redeemed by their genius the hate and discord which they aided to create; when I shall have done all this, I am sure the Progressives on the the other side will begin to prick up their ears and study the new science of miscegenation with a view to its practical realization by a bureau. [Laughter.]

First hear the testimony of Wendell Phillips. He says:

"Now I am going to say something that I know will make the New York Herald use its small capitals and notes of admiration, and yet no well-informed man this side of China but believes it in the very core of his heart. That is, 'amalgamation,' a word that the northern apologist for slavery has always used so glibly, but which you never heard from a southerner. Amalgamation! Remember this, the youngest of you, that on the 4th day of July, 1863, you heard a man say that in the light of all history, in virtue of every page he ever read, he was an amalgamationist to the utmost extent. I have no hope for the future, as this country has no past, and Europe has no past but in that sublime mingling of races which is God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world. God, by the events of His providcace, is crushing out the hatred of race which has crippled this country until to-day."

I put it to gentlemen on the other side. Are you responsible for him? Ah! you received him, how ardently in this city and Capitol last year.

Mr. ELIOT. To whom does the gentleman refer?

Mr. COX. Wendell Phillips. The Senate doors flew open for him; the Vice President of the United States welcomed him; Senators flocked around him; Representatives cheered his disunion utterances at the Smithsonian; and you will follow him wherever he leads. He is a practical amalgamationist, and he is leading and will lead you up to the platfrom on which you will finally stand. You may seem coy and reluctant now, but so you were about the political equality of the negro a year ago; so you were about abolishing slavery in the States two years ago. Now you are in the millennial glory of abolition. So it will be hereafter with amalgamation!

Here is what Theodore Tilton, editor of the *Independent*, says in the circular to which I have referred:

"Have you not seen with your own eyes—no man can have escaped it—that the black race in this country is losing its typical blackness? The Indian is dying out; the negro is only changing color! Men who, by and by, shall ask for the Indians will be pointed to their graves: 'There lie their ashes.' Men who, by and by, shall ask for the negroes will be told, 'There they go, clad in white men's skins.' A hundred years ago a mulatto was a curiosity; now the mulattoes are half a million. You can yourself predict the future!"

Mr. ELIOT. The gentleman will permit me to say that surely all this was under a state of slavery.

Mr. COX. I will show the gentleman directly that his friends and leaders propose to continue it in a state of freedom. It will be the freest kind of license.

Mr. ELIOT. The gentleman will allow me to suggest whether the difficulty he labors under is not that the Democratic party is afraid the Republicans will get ahead of them.

Mr. COX. I am not afraid of anything of the kind while white people remain upon which we can center our affections and philanthropy. You can take the whole monopoly of "miscegenation." We abhor and detest it. The circular referred to has other indorsements, which I quote before I reach that Warwick of Republicanism, Horace Greely. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* of January 30 says:

"This pamphlet comes directly and fearlessly to the advocacy of an idea of which the American people are more afraid than any other. Assuredly God's laws will fulfill and vindicate themselves. It is in the highest degree improbable that he has placed a natural repugnance between any two families of His children. If He has done so, that decree will execute itself, and these two will never seek intimate companionship together. If, on the contrary, He has made no such barrier, no such one is needful or desirable, and every attempt to restrain these parties from exercising their natural choice is in contravention of His will, and is an unjust exercise of power. The future must decide how far black and white are disposed to seek each other in marriage. The probability is that there will be a progressive intermingling, and that the nation will be benefitted by it."

I hold in my hand the *Anglo-African*, of January 23, which discusses this subject from the purely African stand-point:

"The author of the pamphlet before us advances beyond these lights of the days gone by. What they deemed a remote and undesirable probability he regards as a present and pressing necessity; what they deemed to be an evil to be legislated against he regards as a blessing which should be hastended by all the legislative and political organizations in the land! The word—nay the deed—miscegenation, the same in substance with the word amalgamation, the terror of our abolition friends twenty years ago, and of many of them to-day—miscegenation, which means intermarriages between whites and blacks—'miscegenation,' which means the absolute practical brotherhood or social intermingling of blacks and whites, he would have inscribed on the banner of the Republican party, and held up as the watchword of the next presidential platform!" * * * * *

* * "We take a deep interest in the doctrine shadowed forth, that to improve a given race of men. It is too late to begin with infant and Sunday schooling; at birth they have the bent of their parents, which we may slightly alter but cannot radically change. The education and improvement should begin with the marriage of parties who, instead of strong resemblances, should have contrasts which are complementary each of the other. It is disgraceful to our modern civilization that we have societies for improving the breed of sheep, horses, and pigs, while the human race is left to grow up without scientific culture."

The editor of the *Anglo-African* confesses that he is a little staggered in his theories by what he calls the evident deterioration of the mixed bloods of Central America, but he finds the solution of the difficulty in the fact that the races there mixed, Indian and Spanish, are not complementary of each other. This, to my observation, Mr. Speaker, is as absurd as it is untrue. But I am not now arguing the reasonableness of this doctrine of mixed races. I only propose to show what it is, and whither it is tending.

The New York *Tribune*, the great organ of the dominant party, is not so frank as the *Anglo-African*, but its exposition of "miscegenation" is one of the signs which point to the Republican solution of our African troubles by the amalgamation of the races. In indorsing the doctrine of this pamphlet, Mr. Greeley holds that—

"No statesman in his senses cares to put morsels of cuticle under a microscope before he determines upon

the prudence of a particular policy. *Diversity of races is the condition precedent in America, and their assimilation is the problem.* High skulls, broad skulls, long skulls, black hair, red hair, yellow hair, copper skins, or olive skins, Caucasians, Ethiopians, Mongolians, Americans, Malays, with oval pelvis, round pelvis, square pelvis, or oblong pelvis, we have or may have them all in our population; and our business is to accommodate all by subjecting merely material differences to the ameliorating influence of an honest and unlimited recognition of one common nature."

To "assimilate these various races" is the problem which Mr. Greeley approaches. We cannot but admire the delicate phraseology by which his approaches are couched. Not so the pamphlet to which I referred. It is bold and out-spoken. It advocates a preference of the black over the white as partners. The following are the points inculcated by its author:

"1. Since the whole human race is of one family, there should be in a republic no distinction in political or social rights on account of color, race, or nativity.

"2. The doctrine of human brotherhood implies the right of white and black to intermarry.

"3. The solution of the negro problem will not be reached in this country until public opinion sanctions a union of the two races.

"4. As the negro is here, and cannot be driven out, there should be no impediment to the absorption of one race in the other.

"5. Legitimate unions between whites and blacks could not possibly have any worse effect than the illegitimate unions which have been going on more than a century at the South.

"6. The mingling of diverse races is proved by all history to have been a positive benefit to the progeny.

"7. The southern rebellion is caused less by slavery than by the base prejudice resulting from distinction of color; and perfect peace can come only by a cessation of that distiuction through an absoption of the black race by the white.

"8. It is the duty of anti-slavery men everywhere to advocate the mingling of the two races.

"9. The next presidential election should secure to the blacks all their social and political rights; and the progressive party should not flinch from conclusions fairly deducible from their own principles.

"10. In the meliennial future the highest type of manhood will not be white or black, but brown; and the union of black with white in marriage will help the human family the sooner to realize its great destiny."

The author finds an emblem of his success in the blending of many to make the one new race, in the crowning of the dome above this Capitol with the *bronze statue* of Liberty! It is neither black nor white, but the intermediate miscegen, typifying the exquisite composite race which is to arise out of this war for abolition, and whose destiny it is to rule the continent! Well might the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, in describing the lifting of the uncouth masses, and bolting them together joint by joint, till they *blended* into the majestic "Freedom" which lifts her head in the blue sky above us, regard the scene as prophetic of the time when the reconstructed symbol of freedom in America shall be a colored goddess of liberty! But to the pamphlet itself. Here we have it, Mr. Speaker. This new evangel for the redemption of the black and white, upon its introductory page begins as follows:

"The word is spoken at last. It is miscegenation—the blending of the various races of men—the *practical* recognition of the brotherhood of all the children of the common Father." [Laughter.]

Just what our miscegenetic Chaplain prays for here almost every morning; and you all voted for him, even some of my friends from the border States. The "introduction" proceeds:

"While the sublime inspirations of Christianity have taught this doctrine, Christians so-called have ignored it in denying social equality to the colored man; while democracy is founded upon the idea that all men are equal. Democrats have shrunk from the logic of their own creed and refused to fraternize with the people of all nations; while science has demonstrated that the intermarriage of diverse races is indispensable to a progressive humanity, its votaries, in this country at least, have never had the courage to apply that rule to the relations of the white and colored races. But Christianity, democracy, and science are stronger than the timidity, prejudice, and pride of short-sighted men, and they teach that a people, to become great, must become composite. This involves what is vulgarly known as amalgation," (laughter,) "and those who dread that name, and the thought and fact it implies, are warned against reading these pages."

There are some remarkable things thrown out in this pamphlet, which should be examined by gentlemen upon the other side. The author discusses the effect of temperature on color. Quoting from a German naturalist, he holds—

"That the true skin is perfectly white; that over it is placed another membrane, called the reticular tissue, and that this is the membrane that is black; and, finally, that it is covered by a third membrane, the scarf skin, which has been compared to a fine varnish lightly extended over the colored membrane, and designed to protect it. Examine also this piece of skin belonging to a very fair person. You perceive over the true white skin a membrane of a slightly brownish tint, and over that again, but quite distinct from it, a transparent membrane. In other words it clearly appears that the whites and the copper-colored have a colored membrane which is placed under the scarf skin and immediately above the true skin, just as it is in the negro. *The infant negroes are born white, or rather reddish, like those of other people,*" (laughter,) "*but in two or three days the color begins to change; they speedily become copper-colored,*" (laughter,) "*and by the seventh or eighth day, though never exposed to the sun, they appear quite black.*" (Laughter.) "He mentions that it is known that negroes in some instances are born quite white or are true Albinos; sometimes, after being black for many years, they become piebald, or wholly white, without their general health suffering under the change. He also mentions another metamorphosis, which would not be agreeable to the prejudices of many among us; it is that of the white becoming piebald with black as deep as ebony."

That is an argument to show that we all, black and white, start off in the race of life nearly of the same color, and that we ought to come to it again, by the processes of—miscegenation!

The author, in his second chapter, devotes many pages to considering the superiority of mixed races. Without combating his facts or deductions, let me quote this grand conclusion:

"Whatever of power and vitality there is in the American race is derived, not from its Anglo-Saxon progenitors, but from all the different nationalities which go to make up this people. All that is needed to make us the finest race on earth is to ingraft upon our stock the negro element which Providence has placed by our side on this continent." (Laughter.) "Of all the rich treasures of blood vouchsafed to us, that of the negro is the most precious," (laughter,) "because it is the most unlike any other that enters into the composition of our national life." (Laughter.)

Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois. I wish my friend from Ohio to read an extract from a book which he himself wrote.

Mr. COX. My friend ought not to be so sensitive. These developments will not hurt him. He does not belong to the miscegenists yet; and if he will stand by General Grant,

and the white constitution--physical and political—he will not "mix" himself in this matter. I again quote:

"It is clear that no race can long endure without a commingling of its blood with that of other races. The condition of all human progress is miscegenation." (Laughter.) "The Anglo-Saxon should learn this in time for his own salvation. If we will not heed the demands of justice let us at least respect the law of self-preservation. Providence has kindly placed on the American soil, for his own wise purposes, four million colored people. They are our brothers, our sisters." (Laughter.) "By mingling with them we become powerful, prosperous, and progressive; by refusing to do so we become feeble, unhealthy, narrow-minded, unfit for the nobler offices of freedom, and certain of early decay." (Laughter.)

I call the especial attention of my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. ELIOT] to these points, with a view to their incorporation in his bureau for freedmen and freedwomen. All your efforts will be vain, and you will not be able to maintain a healthy vitality, if you do not mix your whites very freely with your black beneficiaries.

The writer gives us his theory of the war. Although the war has not quite reached the miscegenetic point yet, it progresses visibly. After showing how other wars have blended the various bloods of the world, he says:

"It will be our noble prerogative to set the examdle of this rich blending of blood. It is idle to maintain that this present war is not a war for the negro. It is a war for the negro. Not simply for his personal rights or his physical freedom; it is a war, if you please, of amalgamation, so called—a war looking, as its final fruit, to the blending of the white and black. All attempts to end it without a recognition of the political, civil, and social rights of the negro will only lead to still bloodier battles in the future. Let us be wise and look to the end. Let the war go on until the pride of caste is done away. Let it go on until church, and state, and society recognize not only the propriety but the necessity of the fusion of the white and black;" [laughter] "in short, until the great truth shall be declared in our public documents and announced in the messages of our Presidents, that it is desirable the white man should marry the black woman and the white woman the black man—that the race should become melaleuketic before it becomes miscegenetic."—[Great laughter.]

This is the language of scientific progress, soon to become familiar to the gentlemen on the other side. The author proceeds:

"The next step will be the opening of California to the teeming millions of eastern Asia. The patience, the industry, the ingenuity, the organizing power, the skill in the mechanic arts which characterize the Japanese and Chinese must be transplanted to our soil, not merely by the emigration of the inhabitants of those nations, but by their incorporation with the composite race which will hereafter rule this continent.

"It must be remembered that the Indians whom we have displaced were copper-colored; and no other complexion, physiologists affirm, can exist permanently in America. The white race which settled in New England will be unable to maintain its vitality as a blonde people. The darker shades of color live and thrive, and the consumption so prevalent in our eastern States is mainly confined to the yellow-haired and thin-blooded blondes."

What a sad picture this for our New England friends! Oh, ye yellow-haired and thin-blooded Yankees! Mingle! mingle! mingle while ye may! It is the sure cure for your asthmas and consumptions.

Still speaking of these thin-blooded New Englanders, he says:

"They need the intermingling of the rich tropic temperament of the negro to give warmth and fullness to their natures." [Laughter.] "They feel the yearning, and do not know how to interpret it." [Laughter.] "The physician tells them they must travel to a warmer climate. They recognize in this a glimpse of the want they feel, though they are hopeless of its efficacy to fully restore the lost vitality. Still they feel the nameless longing.

"Yet waft me from the harbor mouth,
Wild wind! I seek a warmer sky,
And I will see before I die
The palms and temples of the South."

"It is only by the infusion into their very system of the vital forces of a tropic race that they may regain health and strength. We must accept the facts of nature. We must become a yellow-skinned, black-haired people—in fine, we must become miscegns if we would attain the fullest results of civilization." [Laughter.]

This enthusiastic theorist then shows that all religions are derived from the dark races. He calls to us from the tombs of Egypt, and solves the Sphynx riddle of our national destiny. That solution is this: that "if we would fill our proper places in nature we must mingle our blood with all the children of the common father of humanity." Thus and thus only can we hope for redemption by a pure religion. The cold skepticism of the Caucasian will then be expunged in the more genial faith which miscegenation will produce. Hear him:

"May we not hope that in the happier hereafter of this continent, when the Mongolian from China and Japan, and the negro from his own Africa, shall have blent their more emotional natures with ours, that here may be witnessed at once the most perfect religion as well as the most perfect type of mankind the world has yet seen? Let us then embrace our black brother;" (laughter;) let us give him the intellect, the energy, the nervous endurance of the cold North which he needs, and let us take from him his emotional power, his love of the spiritual, his delight in the wonders which we understand only through faith. In the beautiful words of Emerson:

"He has the avenues of God
Hid from man of northern brain,
Far beholding, without cloud,
What these with slowest steps attain.'"

The writer then goes on to show what this miscegen will become physiologically. He will be the realization of the ideal, not of the white or of the black race, but the perfect ideal of the blended races! The artist is called in to adorn by the rarest touches of the facile pencil this production of advanced abolitionism:

"The ideal or type of man of the future will blend in himself all that is passionate and emotional in the darker races, all that is imaginative and spiritual in the Asiatic races, and all that is intellectual and perceptive in the white races. He will also be composite as regards color. The purest miscegen will be brown, with reddish cheeks, curly and waving hair, dark eyes, and a fullness and suppleness of form not now dreamed of by any individual people." * * * * * * * *

* "Adam, the progenitor of the race, as his very name signifies, was made of red earth: and, like the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia, must have been of a tawny or yellow color. The extreme white and black are departures from the original type. The Saviour is represented very falsely in paintings as being light-haired and white-skinnod, when, in truth, he must have been a man of very dark complexion, as were all the Palestine Jews. They were a tawny or yellow race. The fact has been noticed that the Amharic, the language of the Abyssinian, is remarkably analogous to the Hebrew, rendering it probable that the Jews were partly of Abyssinian or negro origin."

The writer makes the same mistake which others have made in confounding the Abyssinian with our Congo negro. They are utterly unlike in form and feature as well as in mind and character. The author's eloquence is better than his science; for with

what enthusiasm does he close his appeal to the members of the abolition party:

"We uge upon white men and woman no longer to glory in their color; it is no evidence of cultivation or of purity of blood. Adam and Christ, the type men of the world's great eras, were red or yellow, and to men of this color, above all others, must be communicated the higher inspirations which involve great spiritual truths, and which bring individuals of the human family into direct communion with supernatural agencies."

These theories, which seem so novel to us, have been a part of the gospel of abolition for years. The celebrated authoress of Uncle Tom's Cabin has made a pen-portrait of a miscegenetic woman and man in her novel called Dred. She makes them the central figures in her graphic scenes of Southern life. Harry, the quadroon overseer and Lisette, his wife, are described as of that "mixed blood which seems so peculiarly fitted to appreciate all the finer aspects of conventional life." Harry's power was such, owing to the constitution inherited from his father, tempered by the soft and genial temperament of the beautiful Eboe mulattress who was his mother, that, through fear or friendship, upon the plantation there was universal subordination to him. Lisette is described as a delicate, airy little creature, formed by a mixture of the African and French blood, producing one of those fanciful, exotic combinations that give the same impression of brilliancy and richness that one receives from tropical insects and flowers! Her eyes have the hazy, dreamy languor which is so characteristic of the mixed races.

With such sensuous portraiture as his original, the author I am considering finds all the characteristics of perfect ideal beauty in the—negro girl! He copies them with fidelity, if he does not surpass the original.

I call the attention of gentlemen upon the other side to this remarkable picture, for they will find its living counterpart only in the crazed skulls of their fanatic supporters:

"In what does beauty consist? In richness and brightness of color, and in gracefulness of curve and outline. What does the Anglo-Saxon, who assumes that his race monopolizes the beauty of the earth, look for in a lovely woman? Her cheeks must be rounded and have a tint of the sun, her lips must be pouting, her teeth white and regular, her eyes large and bright; her hair must curl about her head, or descend in crinkling waves; she must be merry, gay, full of poetry and sentiment, fond of song, childlike, and artless. But all these characteristics belong, in a somewhat exaggerated degree, to the negro girl. What color is beautiful in the human face? It is the blank white. In paintings, the artist has never portrayed so perfect a woman to the fancy as when, choosing his subject from some other than the Caucasian race, he has been able to introduce the marveious charm of the combination of colors in her face. Not alone to the white face, even when tinted with mantling blood, is the fascination of female loveliness imputed. The author may state—and the same experience can be witnessed to by thousands—that the most beautiful girl in form, feature, and every attribute of feminine loveliness he ever saw was a mulatto. By crossing and improvement of different varieties, the strawberry, or other garden fruit, is brought nearest to perfection, in sweetness, size, and fruitfulness. This was a ripe and complete woman, possessing the best elements of two sources of parentage Her complexion was warm and dark, and golden with the heat of tropical suns, lips full and luscious, cheeks perfectly molded and tinged with deep crimson, hair curling, and

"'Whose glossy black
To shame might bring
The plumage or the raven's wing.'"

This pamphleteer is a thorough philosopher. He holds that the slaveholders South are a superior race, owing to their intimate communication from birth to death with the colored race. Their emotional power, fervid oratory, and intensity of thought and will are attributed to this association. Their ability to cope with the North in battle is found to consist in the fact that the presence of Africans in their midst in large numbers infuses into the air a sort of barbaric malaria; a miasm of fierceness, which after long intercourse between the races comes to infect the white men and even the women also! I would fail in my promise to elucidate this new creed of abolition, did I not call attention to the argument which the writer draws from the fact that contraries like each other and that the blonde incontinently falls in love with the black! From this principle of æsthetics or lust the author deduces his highest type of beauty. From this source of opposite yet mingling emotions he thinks that civilization will be enhanced and glorified!

I give his deductions as well for their novelty as for his felicity in choosing the names by which he illustrates them. Let me again quote:

"Such of our readers as have attended anti-slavery meetings will have observed the large proportion of blondes in the assemblage. This peculiarity is also noticeable in the leading speakers and agitators in the great anti-slavery party. Mr. Horace Greely, of the New York Tribune, known for his devotion to the negro race, is as opposite as a man possibly can be to the people to whom he has shown his attachment by long and earnest labor for their welfare. In color, complexion, structure, mental habits, peculiarities of all kinds, they are as far apart as the poles. The same is true of Mr. Wendell Phillips. He, too, is the very opposite of the negro. His complexion is reddish and sanguine; his hair in younger days was light; he is, in short, one of the sharpest possible contrasts to the pure negro. Mr. Theodore Tilton, the eloquent young editor of the Independent, who has already achieved immortality by advocating enthusiastically the doctrine of miscegenation," (laughter,) "is a very pure specimen of the blonde, and when a young man was noted for his angelic type of feature," (laughter) —"we mean angelic after the type of Raphael, which is not the true angelic feature, because the perfect type of the future will be that of the blended race, with the sunny hues of the South tinging the colorless complexion of the icy North. But it is needless further to particularize. The sympathy Mr. Greeley, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Tilton feel for the negro is the love which the blonde bear for the black; it is a love of race, a sympathy stronger to them than the love they bear to woman. It is founded upon natural law. We love our opposites.

"Nor is it alone true that the blonde love the black. The black also love their opposites. Said Frederick Douglass, a noble specimen of the melaleuketic American," (laughter,) "in one of his speeches: 'We love the white man, and will remain with him. We like him to well to leave him. but we must possess with him the rights of freedom.' Our police courts give painful evidence that the passion of the colored race for the white is often so uncontrollable as to overcome the terror of the law. It has been so, too, upon the Southern plantations. The only remedy for this is legitimate melaleuketic marriage.' (Laughter.)

The revelations at Hilton Head and along the Carolina coast might have been added to the illustrations above to show the irrepressible affection between white women and black men and black women and white men. But on that—I forbear.

Sir, I cannot pursue this style of remark further. The contemplation of such disgust-

ing theories is not pleasant. I have been challenged to go into it by my friend from Massachusetts. This is my apology. The gentlemen on the other side may be unconscious of the path they are traveling under the lead of these amalgamationists. But they must follow. They may protest, but we know that they will yield, for they have ever yielded to their extreme men. As this very writer himself truly says, (page 58:)

"As the war has progressed, men's minds have been opened more and more to the true cause of our country's difficulties. Human nature is imperfect; it can ordinarily take in only half or quarter truths. It was a great step in the advance when the country willingly accepted the truth that all men should be free. But it might not have been seen by many that further along in the path of progress we should recognise the great doctrine of human brotherhood, and that human brotherhood comprehended not merely the personal freedom, but the acknowledgement of the political and social rights of the negro, and the provision for his entrance into those familiy relations which form the dearest and strongest ties that bind humanity together. Once place the races upon a footing of perfect equality, and these results will surely follow.

"Let it be understood, then, that equality before the law, for the negro, secures to him freedom, privilege to secure property and public position, and, above all, carries with it the *ultimate fusion of the negro and white races.* When this shall be accomplished by the inevitable influences of time, all the troubles that loom up now in the future of our country will have passed away. It is the true solution of our difficulties, and he is blind who does not see it. The President of the United States, fortunately for the country, has made a great advance in the right direction. His first thought in connection with the enfranchisement of the slaves was to send them from the country. He discovered, first, that this was physically impossible, and, second, that the labor alone which would be lost to America and the world would amount in value to more than the debts of all the nations of the earth. The negro is rooted on this continent; we cannot remove him; we must not hold him in bondage. The wisest course is to give him his rights, and let him alone; and by the certain influence of our institutions he will become a component element of the American man.'

Gentleman of the other side have here laid down for them the shining pathway that will lead them out of the troubles with which their ill-judged emancipation schemes have environed them. Whether they will follow it, time will show. Events will show whether the American people will not have a thorough and honest white man's disgust for all these African policies, culminating, as they must, in amalgamation, so as in time to reverse the wheel of revolution, and thus save both races—the one from continued slaughter, and the other from eventual and certain extermination. I have quoted these extracts to show that there is a doctrine now being advertised and urged by the leading lights of the Abolition party, toward which the Republican party will and must advance. See how they have advanced for the last two or three years! They used to deny, whenever it was charged, that they favored black citizenship; yet now they are favoring free black suffrage in the District of Columbia, and will favor it wherever in the South they need it for their purposes. The Attorney General of the United States has declared the African to be an American citizen. The Secretary of State grants him a passport as such. The President of the United States calls him an American citizen of African descent. The Senate of the United States is discussing African equality in street cars. We have the negro at every moment and in every bill in Congress. All these things, in connection with the African policies of confiscation and emancipation in their various shapes for the past three years, culminating in this grand plunder scheme of a department for freedmen, ought to convince us that that party is moving steadily forward to perfect social equality of black and white, and can only end in this detestable doctrine of—Miscegenation!

Gentlemen may deny that this is the tendency of their party. They used to deny that they favored the doctrine of the political equality of black and white, which was once charged upon them, and which they are now so boldly consummating. The truth will appear. After a year or two some member from New England will come here recognizing the great fact that four million blacks are mixing more or less, and ought to mix more with the whites of the country, and will advocate a bureau of another kind—a department for the hybrids who are cast upon the care of the Government by this system of miscegenation.

Mr. Speaker, since I have been upon the floor, the gentleman from Massachusetts more than hinted that the Democracy might desire to compete with his party in this new scheme of miscegenation. Not at all, sir. Our prejudices are strong, but they are in favor of our own color. We have, in times past, affiliated with the Democracy South, but I do not understand that the Democratic party North is responsible for what the Democratic party South did since or when they separated from us, or since and when they divided our party and helped you to divide the Union. The Democratic party of the North never was a pro-slavery party, as has been libelously charged. [Laughter on the Republican side.] Oh, I know you laugh, gentlemen, at that; but your laugh is "like the crackling of thorns under a pot."

The Scripture tells you what kind of laughter that is. It would be unparliamentary to characterize it further. I repeat it, the Democracy North never was a pro-slavery party. I know the contrary has been reiterated by the crew who have floated on the summer current of northern prejudice, until many good people believe it. A grosser falsehood was never uttered. Even Horace Greeley is ashamed any more to repeat it. He stated the other day our position correctly, when he said that "northern Democracy is not really pro slavery, but anti-intervention; maintaining, not that slavery is right, but that we of the free States should mind our own business and let alone other people's." Our platforms are but the repetition of this idea of non-interference. Beginning with 1840 and ending with 1860, we resolved—

"That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertainig to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by

abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions."

The Democracy ever favored local sovereignty as to slavery and every other domestic matter. They would have extended that sovereignty, and not slavery, from the States to the Territories. On that question of extension, of non-intervention, the Democracy North and South unhappily divided. The consequences are upon us.

I accept events as they transpire. Not responsible for them, yet not unobservant of them, I call the attention of the House to the bold strides which have been made since we last met, by fraud and force, to crush out the institution of slavery. I need not point you to the black recruiting system in Maryland and Missouri. I need not rehearse the orders of generals and subordinates, all working to this end, regardless of the rights of property or local sovereignty. Slavery hangs precariously, by a hair, in Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, and Florida. Even in old Kentucky, where her loyal people cared less for it and more for their State right over it, anti-slavery is at work. Wherever in our lines slavery yet exists, it is comparatively free and altogether profitless. It works at its own will, and not at the will of the master. Outside of our lines—within the Gulf States—slaves once worth $2,000 are now only worth their $100 in gold; and this depreciation will go on if our armies continue to penetrate the South. If it thus go on, where will it end? In the grave of the slave! Read the accounts of mortality among the blacks, especially those in the military. Each camp is a hospital. The deserted families perish by their removal from their homes, by vice and starvation. We of this side have no power to stop it. The war keeps it going. For this condition of the negro let the Abolition party and its savage counterpart South answer to God and the country. To the horrors and calamities of the whites growing out of this war is to be added the miseries and destruction of the blacks; and this indictment of high crime will not be found against the northern Democracy, but against its revilers North, who divided our Union, and its enemies South, who divided our party.

In the forthcoming election for Chief Magistrate you will find the Democracy making no issue about slavery. If it is dying or dead, as you allege, you will find them striving their utmost to preserve what they can of local and personal liberty out of the chaos of this conflict. We have been the champions of local and State liberty, not because slavery was guarantied by it. No, sir. We have not championed slavery. We never placed it in our northern constitutions. I would fain have seen slavery die, if die it must, by the unforced action of the States, as it has died in the now free States, and not by the rough usages of war, which destroys the slave with slavery; not by usurpations upon the rights of the States and the people, which destroy both freedom and slavery and slave, but by the sovereign intelligence of the people of the States, who alone are responsible for the existence of their own domestic institutions.

I am not insensible to the signs of the times. Judging by what we daily see here in this House, the border States, through the blandishments of power, the fear of ruin, the tyranny of the bayonet, and the corruption of greenbacks, are, I think, gradually being *persuaded* to yield before the genius of universal emancipation! The music of the old Union is hushed in the bugles of war. The northern Democracy, in struggling to preserve the institutions of those States, and in doing which they have been and are yet in sympathy with their only proper representatives, have done so from no love of slavery; but because, in the language of the Chicago platform, they would by preserving State institutions, "preserve the balance of power, on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depended."

When the party in power, by edict and bayonet, by sham election and juggling proclamation, drag down slavery, they drag down in the spirit of ruthless iconoclasm the very genius of our civil polity, local self-government. They strike constitutional liberty in striking at domestic slavery. Hence they must abolish *habeas corpus* when they stab the hated institution. They must invade bills of right when they invade State rights.

When next you meet us at the polls you shall answer for the perfection of our political fabric which you have marred, and the endurance of which you have imperiled. No more wrangling about pro-slavery or anti-slavery. The question shall be, the old order with Democracy to administer it, or continued revolution with destructives to guide it; the old Union with as much of local sovereignty as may be saved from the abrasion of war, or a new abolition and military unity of territory, with debt, tyranny, and fanaticism as its trinity.

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